they might not become slothful was this done in the houses.

quimjxitiaia injc amo tlatziviscujaque techan in muchioaia yn.

The Casting of Copal [Incense].

And the casting of *copal* [incense] was thus done, when any weighty words were yet to be said, or a judgment was yet to be uttered: first one cast *copal* [incense] into the fire. [For] whoever was to speak [weighty words], here lay the *copal* in a gourd vessel. Or else the singer, before he was to sing, thus did: first he cast *copal* into the brazier, and then the singer began [to sing].

Copaltemaliztli.

Auh in copaltemaliztli ic muchioaia, yn jquac in tlein tlatolli ie mjtoz, aço tecutlatolli ie mitoz, achto contemaia in copalli, in tleco: in aqujn ie tlatoz, çan vncan manca in copalli xicaltica: anoço cujcanj in ie cujcaz, ic peoaz, achto contema in copalli in tlequaaco, njman ic peoa in cujcanj.

The Eating [Kissing] of the Earth.

The eating [kissing] of the earth was thus done, when men came into any place: everyone kissed the earth, with one finger [touched to the ground and then to the mouth], either before the devil or else in front of the hearth.

And thus was protested, thus was avouched one's word. When one put not much faith in [another's] word, thus he said unto him:

"If what thou sayest is true, do thou kiss the earth."

Whosoever it was then thus kissed the earth, and thus he bore witness to [the truth of] his words.

Tlalqualiztli.

In tlalqualiztli ic muchioaia, iquac in campa calhujlooaia, muchi tlacatl oncalqualaia, ica in ce imapil, aço ispan diablo, anoço tlecujlixquac:

yoan ic tlaneltililoia, ic nelli in tlatolli: yn jquac tlein amo cenca neltocoia tlatolli: ic teilhujloia

intla nelli in tiquitoa, tlaxontlalqua:
ic njman tlalqualaia in aquin, ic qujneltililaia itlatol.

The [Ceremonial] Casting [of a Libation].

And thus was done the casting [of a libation]: When anything was to be eaten, and was not yet eaten, perchance of the food first a very small morsel was cut and cast in front of the hearth. When they had cast it, then they began to eat. No one first ate [before], indeed, libations had been cast in front of the hearth.

Tlatlaçaliztli.

Auh inic muchioaia tlatlacaliztli, iquac in tlein qualoz yn aiamo qualo, aço tlaqualli, achtopa achiton tepitō mocotonaia, tlecujlixquac onmotlaçaia: in ontlatlaçaloc njman ic pena inic tlaqualoz: aiac achto tlaquaia vel achto tlatlatlaçaloia, in tlecujlixquac.

The [Ceremonial] Pouring [of a Libation].

Thus was done the [ceremonial] pouring [of a libation], when an offering was made [to the god], perchance at the feast of the wine gods: When anyone made new wine, when it [began to] increase, when thus it [began to] sound, they laid it as an offering in a bowl, in front of the hearth; and [they laid it] in small drinking vessels.

Tlatoiaoalizti.

Inic muchioaia tlatoiaoaliztli, iquac in tlamanaloia, aço vitziecoloia: iquac in aca iancujcan qujtlalia vctli, yn iquac oqujtlapiuj, iquac ic tenotzaia, qujoalmana apaztica tlecujlisquac, yoan tetlaoancuxtepiton.

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

He sang; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, slaves,[1] precious capes, valuable breech clouts, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There went to be added the counters—twelve [of them], six the property of each, the counters of each of the contenders. He who won in playing *patolli*,

Injc matlactli capítulo, ipan mjtoa injc mellel- 643
quixtiaia tlatoque.

In jcoac qujça tlatoanj, imac onotiuh, iacapitzac, [48]
injc mapilotiuh, injc matlatotiuh qujiacana in jte- 643
chiuhcaoan, in jtaoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in 644
qujtlapeujlitiuj: aiac vel qujiacaujltequj, aiac uel ix-
pan qujça, aiac vel acopa qujtta, aiac uel quixae-
panoa,

cujca, mocujcamachtia, cujcacheoua, qujtlatla- [521]
quechilia, qujçaçanjlhuja,

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, [525
qujtlanjtoa in jxqujch tlaçotli in teucujtlatl, in teo- 526]
cujtlacozcatl, in chalchiujtl, in teuxiujtl, in tlaçotli,
in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in milli, in calli,
cotzehoatl, teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalmachoncotl, [301
xomoiujtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, 576
itoca tlachtli: 314]

necocampa imac tlatepantectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli 345
injc xipetztic in tlachmatl, ioan in tlalmantli: auh in 526
vncan vel inepantla tlachtli, onoca tlecotl tlaxotlalli in
tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl
manca, in aquin ollimanj vncan tlacalaquja, vncan
quicalaquja olli: njman ic quitlanj in jxqujch tlaçotli
tlatquitl, auh muchintin qujntlanj, in jxqujchtin
tetlatlattaque, in vncan tlachco: itlaujcallo in olli,
maiecatl, nelpilonj, queçecatl.

Patoa ica aiecotli, vevej etl nauhtetl in tlaixcoionjlli 524
injc motlanj immatica in qujchaiaoa in nauhtetl etl,
qujcujloa ce petlatl, tiltica, papatlactic in tilli, injc
mjcujloa patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoal-
tetl matlactetl omome chichiquacentetl imaxca intla-
poaltzuh icecemme in jxnamjquj in motlanj in patoa,
qujtlanjlia in jxqujch tlaçotli, cozzic teucujtlacozcatl, 524
chalchiujtl, teuxiujtl, matzopetztli ipan ca chalchiujtl 525

1. *Tlaxilli*: the corresponding Spanish has slaves (*esclavos*). See also below, description of *patolli*.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix C

Continuation of the Twenty-first Chapter[1]

. . . He alternated [his lip plugs] when he fitted them in. And [Moctezuma gave him] his head band [with two tufts] of eagle feathers [ornamented] with obsidian knives fashioned of gold, and his cape with, perhaps, the serpent mask design, or the earthen vessel fashioned of feathers, or the ocelot cape with a red border; and a breech clout with long ends, having either the eagle claw or the market place design.

At that time he acquired new sandals—not embroidered nor cut according to a pattern, but black, with their thongs of either orange or red leather. And when he went to the palace, he put the sandals on in order to go along the road. He went receiving great honors, because he was Moctezuma's chieftain. He proceeded with much acclaim. And when he reached the Eagle Gate he drew off the sandals which he had put on; he was no longer shod when he entered the royal palace, where were the great men dexterous in arms, the war leaders.

And also at that time he won the title known as general or commanding general. If the general or commanding general were to die, then [another] would be chosen and selected [from among] those who had been made their deputies. They said that they had become lords of the sun.

And all the seasoned warriors, who had entered the field of battle, all these Moctezuma rewarded. When the Feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli was celebrated, he gave each of them four pieces of black cloth, each eight measures broad. And likewise he gave the leaders of the youths the cape of scorpion design with a striped, orange border and the carmine colored breech clout with the wind jewel design at the ends.

And [as for] those whom we knew to be seasoned war leaders and leaders in the fray, then started [the custom] that Moctezuma [had] the hair of those who were chieftains cut as short ones or as Otomí [warriors].

When and wheresoever war was proclaimed, always they remained guarding and paying heed to

. . . q'papatla y' çaço catleuatl conaquiz. auh in iquauhtlalpiaya coztic teocuitlatl in itecpayo. auh in itilma, aço couazayacayo, anoço yuitica tehtecomayo, anoço ocelotentlapalli in q'maca. moteccuiçoma yuã mastlatl yacauiac aço quauhiztio, anoço tianquiztli ommãtiuh ĩ mastlatl. [701] [293] [431]

yquac yancuicã quicui in cactli, amo tlahmachyo amo cuicuiltic çan tliltic. in icuetlaxmecayo aço uitzteculli. anoço chichiltic cuetlaxtli. auh in iquac ye yauh tecpã ommocactia inic ohtli q'toca. cenca momauiçoxtiuh ypampa ca ytiacauh im moteccuiçoma. cẽca motleyotiuh. Auh i ye oncaci quauhquiauac quicopina in icac quitlalia aoc momocactia inic calaqui tecpan tlahtoca in ompa cate uehuey quauhtli, uehuey ocelome i yaotachcaua. [574]

Auh no yquac quimahcrua in tocaitl im mitoua tlacochcalcatl. anoço tlacateccatl. intla miquiz tlacochcalcatl anoço tlacateccatl yquac ano pepenalo. yeuantin ym ixiptlayouã mochiuaya. quihtouaya ytlahtocaua mochiua in tonatiuh.

Auh in isquichtin i yaotequiuaqz i yaotitlancalaqz i ye mochintin in q'ntlauhtiaya moteccuiçoma. yquac in tequiquistiloya in tlacaxipeualiztli in q'mmacaya tilpapatlauac chichicuec çotl nanauhmaca. auh no yuã in telpochiaqz in q'mmacaya camopaltẽuauanq' colotlalpili nochpalmastlatl yacayecacozcayo. [431]

Auh i yeuantin ĩ in oõq'nteneuhqz i yaoteẽuaqz i yaotachcauã. oncã quiçaya in q'nquachicxtimaya. moteccuiçoma anoço quimotõximaya. in tiacauã catca. [302]

in iquac çaçocampa ualmitouaya yaoyotl çã mochipa quichiuicate quipopouhtõcate in inquauhyo in [701] [721]

1. For ending of Chapter 21, above.

648 **Second Chapter, in which it is told how those arrived who first came by boat, which, they say, was only one boat.**

And when were seen those who had reached the shore of the ocean, traveling by boat, then in person went Pinotl, the high steward of Cuetlaxtlan. He took with him other stewards [The second was] the steward of Mictlanquauhtla, Yaotzin. The third was the steward of Teociniocan, named Teociniacatl. The fourth was Cuitlalpitoc, who was only an underling[1] and a leader. The fifth was Tentlil,[2] likewise a leader.

Only these went to look at [the Spaniards]. They proceeded as if to sell [goods]; hence they went in disguise, to find out about them. They went to offer them precious mantles, richly made, [which] could be only Moctezuma's mantles. No one else might wear them; they were his alone — his very own.

By boat they went in order to see them. As they did so, Pinotl said: "Let us not deceive the lord Moctezuma; for no longer would [we] live.[3] Let us indeed go, lest we die, in order that he may learn the truth." ([For] Moctezuma[4] was his name as a prince, and Tlacatecutli [lord of men] was his title as ruler.)

Thereupon they went into the water. They entered the boats and followed the water['s current]. The water folk rowed them.

And when they had drawn near, where they could see the Spaniards, then, in their presence, [as if] kissing the earth,[5] [they kissed] the prows of the boats. For they thought that Quetzalcoatl Topiltzin had come.

The Spaniards called to them. They said to them: "Who are you? Whence have you come? Where is your home?"

Inic vnse capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenja acico, in achto acalli oalla: in juh quitoa ca çan centetl in acalli.

Auh in oitoque, in aquiçque ovallaque ilhujca atenco, in acalitica ie onotlecmj. Niman iooma in in cuetlaxtecatl pjnotl, vei calpixcuj, q'invicac oc cequintin calpixcque: Mictlan, quauhtla calpixcuj, Jaotzin. Inic ci, Teuciniocan calpixcuj: itoca Teuciniacatl. Inic navi ichoatl in cuitlalpitoc çan tetlan nenquj tlaiacanquj. Inic macujlli Tentlil, çan no tlaiacanquj;

[643 29] çan oc ichoantin in, in quimjttato, çan iuhquinma quintlanamaquiltito, inic quinnaoalittato, inic quinnemjlito: quimacato tlaçotilmatli, tlaçotlanquj, çan vel itech itilma in Motecuçoma, in aoc ac oc çe quiquemj, çan vel ineixcavil, vel itonal:

acaltica in iaque inic quimjttato, inic iuh quichiuhque in: quito in pinotzin. Ma tiquixttacaviti in tlacatl Motecuçomatzin, ca iaocmo annenca ma çan tehoantin tivia, ma tonmjquixti, inic vel melaoac quimocaquixtiz (in motecuçomatzin ipiltoca, auh Tlacatecutli in jtlatocatoca:

[643] njman ie ic vi in atl itic ommacalaquiquc, ommatocticque, quintlanelhuiquc atlaca.

●576 Auh in ointech ompachivito españoles: njman imixpan ontlalquaque acaliacac, in momatque, ca ichoatl in Quetzalcoatl topiltzin, in oncico,

The Spaniards called to them. They said to them: quinoalnotzq in españoles: quimjlhuiquc. Acamjque campa ontvallaque, cana mochan?

1. Corresponding Spanish term: *"criado de otro dueño subjugado."*

2. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, in *Décimo novio relación de la venida de los españoles y principio de la ley evangélica* (Méjico, Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), p. 6, translates Tenpilli, or Tendilli, *gobernador de Montezuma, que era de Comalcal, o Cuauhchilan,"* who brought the news to the ruler when Cortés later (1519) landed.

3. *Annenca* (you live): possibly *annenca* (we live) is intended.

4. Motecuçomatzin: reverential form of well-known Nahuatl name is generally not expressed in our translation, unless demanded by the context. With others we usually follow the Nahuatl text.

5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II — *The Conquest*, p. 182. Solís, *op. cit.*, p. 457, translates the phrase thus: *"besaron la Tierra como era Uso."*

F-5-

648 **Fifth Chapter. Here is related what came to pass when the messengers of Moctezuma went aboard the boat of Don Hernando Cortés.**

Thereupon they climbed up. They bore in their arms the array [of the gods]. When they had proceeded to go up into the boat, each in his turn disposed himself to kiss the earth before the Captain. Having done so, they besought and said unto him:

"Let the god deign to hear: for his vassal, Moctezuma, who guardeth over Mexico for him, prayeth to him. For [so] he speaketh: 'The god hath suffered, he is weary [from travel].'"

Upon this, they adorned the Captain himself; they put on him the turquoise mosaic serpent mask; with it went the quetzal feather head fan; and with it went — in it they had set and with it went hanging — the green stone ear plugs in the form of serpents. And they clad him in the sleeveless jacket; they put the sleeveless jacket upon him. And they put the necklace upon him: the plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which lay the golden disc. With this they bound, on the small of his back, the mirror for the small of the back. Also with it they laid upon his back the cape named *tzitzilli*. And about [the calf of] his leg they placed the green stone band with the golden shells.[1] And they gave him, and placed upon his arm,[2] the shield with lines of gold and shells crossing, on whose [lower] rim went spread quetzal feathers and a quetzal feather flag. And before him they set the obsidian sandals.

And the other three sets of adornment, the array of the gods, they only laid in rows and placed in order before him.

And when this had been done, the Captain said to them: "Are these perchance all your gifts, your greetings?"

They answered: "This is all with which we came, O our lord."

Then the Captain commanded that they be bound. They fastened irons about their ankles and necks.

1. Described earlier as a wrist ornament.
2. The left arm, in the corresponding Spanish text.

Injc macujlli capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein mochiuh, in jquac itiitlanoan motecuçoma in vmpa callacque in jacalco don hernando Cortes.

Niman ie ic tleco, quinanapalotivi in tlatqujtl: in otlecoto acalco ceceniaca ontlalquatimanj yixpan in capitan: Niman ie ic contlatlauhtia: quilhujque:

Ma qujmocaqujlti in teutl: ca qujoalmotlatlauhtilia in jtechiuhcauh Motecuçoma in cõmotlapielilia mexico; ca conjtoa. Oquimjhiovilti, oquimociavilti in teutl:

njman ie ic qujchichioa in capitan vel iehoatl conaqujque in xiuhcoaxaiacatl, itech ietiuh in quetzalapanecaiotl, yoan itech icietiuh, itech aactiuh, itech pipilcatiuh chalchiuhcoanacochtli: yoan conaqujque xicolli, conxicoltique, yoan conçozcatique in chalchiuhcozcapetlatl nepantla mantiuh in teucujtlacomalli, ic conxillancujtlalpique in tezcacujtlapilli, no ic contzinapanque in tilmatli in jtoca tzitzilli, yoan icxic contlalilique in chalchiuhcuecuextli teucujtlacoiollo: yoan conmacaque imac cõnanjlique chimalli teucujtlatica nenepanjuhquj, yoan epnepanjuhcaio, quetzaltençouhtiuh quetzalpaniotiuh: yoan ixpã contemjlique itzcactli.

Auh in oc etlamantli nechichioalli, teutlatqujtl, çan ixpan contecpãque, convipanque:

auh in ie iuhquj, qujmjlhuj in capitã Cujx ie ixqujch in, in amotenamjquja, in amotetechacia?

qujnnanqujlique ca ie ixqujch injc tioallatiaque totecue.

Niman tlanacati in capitan injc ilpiloque, tepoztli imjcxic qujntlalilique, yoan inquechtlan: in ie iuh-

- 15 -

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

got down from his litter, and those great Caciques supported him with their arms beneath a marvellously rich canopy of green coloured feathers with much gold and silver embroidery and with pearls and chalchihuites suspended from a sort of bordering, which was wonderful to look at. The Great Montezuma was richly attired according to his usage, and he was shod with sandals [*cotoras*], for so they call what they wear on their feet, the soles were of gold and the upper part adorned with precious stones. The four Chieftains who supported his arms were also richly clothed according to their usage, in garments which were apparently held ready for them on the road to enable them to accompany their prince, for they did not appear in such attire when they came to receive us. Besides these four Chieftains, there were four other great Caciques, who supported the canopy over their heads, and many other Lords who walked before the Great Montezuma, sweeping the ground where he would tread and spreading cloths on it, so that he should not tread on the earth. Not one of these chieftains dared even to think of looking him in the face, but kept their eyes lowered with great reverence, except those four relations, his nephews, who supported him with their arms.

When Cortés was told that the Great Montezuma was approaching, and he saw him coming, he dismounted from his horse, and when he was near Montezuma, they simultaneously paid great reverence to one another. Montezuma bade him welcome and our Cortés replied through Doña Marina wishing him very good health. And it seems to me that Cortés, through Doña Marina, offered him his right hand, and Montezuma did not wish to take it, but he did give his hand to Cortés and then Cortés brought out a necklace which he had ready at hand, made of glass stones, which I have already said are called Margaritas, which have within them many patterns of

576 643 648 diverse colours, these were strung on a cord of gold and with musk so that it should have a sweet scent, and he placed it round the neck of the Great Montezuma and when he had so placed it he was going to embrace him, and those great Princes who accompained Montezuma held back Cortés by the arm so that he should not embrace him, for they considered it an indignity.

648 Then Cortés through the mouth of Doña Marina told him that now his heart rejoiced at having seen such a great Prince, and that he took it as a great honour that he had come in person to meet him and had frequently shown him such favour.

Then Montezuma spoke other words of politeness to him, and told two of his nephews who supported his arms, the Lord of Texcoco and the Lord of Coyoacan, to go with us and show us to our quarters, and Montezuma with his other two relations, the Lord of Cuitlahuac[1] and the Lord of Tacuba who accompanied him, returned to the city, and all those grand companies of Caciques and chieftains who had come with him returned in his train. As they [576] turned back after their Prince we stood watching them and 000 observed how they all marched with their eyes fixed on the ground without looking at him, keeping close to the wall, following him with great reverence. Thus space was made for us to enter the streets of Mexico, without being so much crowded. But who could now count the multitude of men and women and boys who were in the streets and on the azoteas, and in canoes on the canals, who had come out to see us. It was indeed wonderful, and, now that I am writing about it, it all comes before my eyes as though it had happened but yesterday. Coming to think it over it seems to be a great mercy that our Lord Jesus Christ was pleased to give us grace and courage to dare to enter

[1] Cuedlabaca in the text.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 finery, when a number of articles were used to deck the "chief
644 of men" as his official insignia, but the custom of speaking to

1114 preheosible beings ever heard of by them. It is interesting to place both versions side by side. The translation is my own and I therefore beg for indulgence.

Cortés. Second Dispatch.

"At that place more than a thousand principal people came to greet and to speak to me, all citizens of the said city, and all dressed alike and according to their custom very richly, and when they
[576] came to speak to me, every one of them made, before coming up, a particular ceremony, customary among them, which consisted in each one of them putting his hand on the ground, kissing it; and in this manner I waited almost an hour until each one had made his ceremony."
"..... After we had passed that bridge, this lord Muteczuma came to receive us with about two hundred Lords, all barefooted and dressed in other livery or manner of clothing, also very rich after their custom, and more so than that of the others. They came in two processions, closely hugging the walls of the street which is very broad, fine, and straight, so that from one end of it the other end may be seen, and two-thirds of a league ("legua") in length, with very good buildings on both sides, dwellings as well as temples. And the said Muteczuma went in the middle of the street with two chiefs, one to his right and the other to his left. One of these was the same one who, as I said, had come to speak to me in the litter, and the other was the said Mutecxuma's brother, lord of that city of Iztapalapa which I had left that day. All three were dressed alike, except Mutecxuma who wore soles to his feet, whereas the other two chiefs had none and supported him by his arms....."

Bernal Diaz de Castillo. Cap. 92.

"When we reached the place where another pathway (dyke) branched off to Cuyocan, ... many principals and caciques came, covered with very rich mantles, with ornaments and liveries, those of one cacique different from those of another, and the dykes were filled by them. These great caciques were sent by the great Montezuma ahead to receive us, and as they arrived before Cortés they bid us welcome, touching the ground and kissing it in token thereof." "Thus we were detained a good while, and from there the Cacamecan, chief of Texcuco, and the chief of Iztapalapa, and the chief of Tacuba and the chief of Cuyocan went forward to meet the great Montezuma who approached in a rich litter, accompanied by other great Lords and caciques holding vassals. And when we neared Mexico, where there were other small towers, the great Montezuma descended from his litter, and these great caciques took hold of his arms, advancing with him under a marvellously rich canopy of green plumes with large golden ornaments, much silver, and pearls and stones of "Chalchihuis" suspended from it as fringes, and very dazzling to the eye. The great Montezuma was very richly dressed after their custom, with cotaras on his feet (as they are called), with golden soles and much jewelry over them. The four lords who came with him were also richly dressed, though not in the same manner as when they had come out to receive us,—as if they changed dress on purpose under way. Besides these Lords, there came other great caciques who bore the canopy over their heads, and other many Lords preceded the great Montezuma sweeping the ground before him and placing rugs for him to step upon. None of these Lords ventured to look him in the face, but all had their eyes cast down, except those of his relatives and nephews who supported him by the arms.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

him with downcast eyes was not so much a mark of particular respect, as a thoroughly Indian habit of shy suspicion, common

A third eye-witness, *Andrés de Tapia* ("*Relacion*," etc., Col. de Doc's, II, p. 579), simply says: "The said Moteczuma went in the middle of the street, and all the rest of the people were along the walls, close to them, as such is their custom."

The version of Bernal Diez is corroborated by *Oviedo* ("*Hist. general*," etc., Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLV, p. 309), from information derived by him of "some knights and soldiers who had taken part in the conquest of New Spain" (Title of Chapter XLV, p. 494). But the old chronicler does not give the names of his informants.

The same question recurs here, which we have already discussed in regard to the fights with the Tlaxcaltecs ("*Art of War*," p. 135, note 283), and here again we reach the same conclusion namely: that Bernal Diez de Castillo, "bent upon recollecting personal incidents, and, from his subaltern position" less able to see closely, in this instance, magnifies the importance of the action beyond the limits of truth.

It is easily noticed, how much more sober, and therefore less pompous, are the statements of the Spanish commander and of his lieutenant, than those of the common soldiers, including Oviedo's anonymous informants. And it should be remembered that Cortés, who was the chief actor in the scene, certainly saw *more* of it and saw it far better than any of the others. Furthermore, at the time he wrote his report (the 30 of October, 1520, or only about one year after the date of the occurrence), Cortés had personal and political motives to magnify and embellish the picture. If his statements, therefore, fall far below those of his troopers in thrilling and highly colored details, there is every reason to believe that they are the more reliable and trustworthy.

Referring, therefore, to the description by Cortés, we find, on the whole, nothing but a barbarous display common to other Indian celebrations of a similar character. Of the Mexicans themselves, a number of such receptions are related by aboriginal authors. I particularly refer to *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," etc., Cap. XXVII, pp. 41 and 42). Upon the return of the Mexicans from their successful raid on Tecamachalco and Tepeaca: "the Mexicans were received in triumph, with horns, trumpets (?), flowers, and frankincense. The old men of the tribe, carrying censers and roses, stood in two rows on each side of the way, their hair tied on the back of their heads with strips of red leather, called cuauhtlailpiloni, with shields in their hands, rods—cuauhtopilli,—and rattles, in token of old age and of being fathers to such braves. Between them the Mexican troop had to pass,—and these are called cuacuaculiltzin,—taking in the middle the captains, and the prisoners which they had brought from the four pueblos;" also (Cap. XXIX), though it is less explicit, about the return from the foray against the Huaxtecas; (Cap. XXXVIII p. 68), speaking of the return from the foray against Huaxaca: "Then Moctezuma commanded to all the old men and to the principal Mexicans to go out and receive the returning warriors with much mirth and joy. They met them in the road, and greeted them, incensing them with much copal, which is like unto myrrh, and a mark of great honor, token of triumph in war;" (Cap. XLIX, p. 79): "At Mazatzintamalco (which has since become garden of the Marquis del Valle), the old men, Cuauhnelnequez, and the Mexican council were arrayed in line to receive him, each one with his calabash-rattle, and armed with shields and macanas, wearing ichcahuipiles, and with the hair tied up on the back of the head with straps of red leather. Along the road there were, at intervals, bowers and huts decked with roses, and the old men joined the procession which moved into Mexico-Tenochtitlan, directly up to the temple of Huitzilopochtli." This was when "Face in the Water" returned from the raid against the Matlatzincas;—(Cap. LII, p. 85) when the same "chief of men" returned, beaten and defeated by the Tarasca of Michhuacan, the same reception was made to him, only with greens, and walls of grief and mourning; also (Cap. LVIII, p. 96, Cap. LXII, p. 104, etc., etc.). It follows from the above that the reception of Cortés and whatever barbarous display attended it, was strictly according to established custom. Similar receptions were made to trading companies returning with particular success. *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 339). "They went in procession like two files, one of priests and the other of chiefs, and they met them in

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 even now to much ruder tribes;[250] and the ornaments and peculiar
644 garments, like the head-dress so very appropriately designated by the Spaniards as a "half-mitre," and other articles already described by us on a former occasion were not worn by him alone, as the "Cihuacohuatl" enjoyed the same privilege.[251] This, and the burial-rites to which we cannot, here, refer in detail,[252]

114 the pueblo of Acachinanco," to the south of Mexico, in the direction of San Antonio
576 Abad, says *Bustamante* (note a). This was while "Water-Rat" was "chief of men." That the "chief of men" moved alone, or with a small escort only, in the middle of the street, is very natural. He was the head of the official household and the chief war-captain of the confederacy. His particular duty it was, therefore, to greet the strangers. On any ordinary occasion it would have been misplaced, and against all rules of Indian etiquette, for the chief-officers of a tribe to go out to meet them; but in this case, wavering between fear and curiosity, an exception was made. It is worthy of remark that even when the "chief of men" returned at the head of a victorious war-party, the "snake-woman" is not mentioned as sallying forth to greet him in person.

576 [250] This custom of addressing people to whom some deference is due, has been
171 noticed among numerous tribes of America. Among the Mexicans it was not at all an exclusive mark of deference towards the chief-officer. His interlocutors did not look at him, neither did he look at them. See *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XCI, p. 86, Vedia II), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 479). The latter is particularly important, although he but copies *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 535) in the main. As far as other tribes are concerned, I but recall here the Peruvian "Inca." See *Francisco de Jerez* ("*Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Perú y Provincia del Cuzco llamada la Nueva Castilla*," etc., etc., in Vedia, Vol. II, p. 331), when Hernando Pizarro met Atahuallpa for the first time: "los ojos puestos en tierra, sin los alzar á mirar á ninguna parte." Of the Indians of the gulf states of North America, it is said by *James Adair* ("*History of the American Indians*," p. 4): "They are timorous, and consequently cautious, ... exceedingly modest in their behaviour." See also on the Northern Indians, *Loskiel* ("*Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder*," Barby 1789, pp. 17 and 18). It would be superfluous to add further quotations.

[251] *Duran* (Cap. XXVI, p. 215, cap. XLIV, p. 357). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57, cap. LXIX, p. 215, etc.). *Durán* (Lámina 8, Trat I°).

764 [252] That the burial of the "Cihuacohuatl" took place after the same manner as that of the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," is proven by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 67): "Hiziéronse obsequias solemnísimas y un enterramiento más sumptuoso que el de los Reyes pasados, porque todos lo tenian por el amparo, y muro fuerte del gran imperio Mexicano." *Durán* (Cap. XLVIII, pp. 381 and 382): "el qual despues de muerto, su cuerpo fué quemado y sus cenizas enterradas junto á los sepulcros de los Reyes, haciéndole las exequias conforme á persona tal se debian, de la mesma manera que á los reyes se hacian y sus grandezas pedian." *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 496): "le hicieron exequias los Mexicanos, con mas aparato y demostracion que á ninguno de los Reyes auian hecho."

In connection with the burial rites it may be in place, here, to refer to a custom easily interpreted in favor of the assumption, that the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" was a monarch. It is the carving, in the live rock at Chapultepec near Mexico, of human shapes commemorative (or at least said to be) of each of these officers, towards the close of each one's lifetime. There can be no doubt as to the existence of such carvings. The last of them, representing "Wrathy chief," was seen by *Don Antonio de Leon y Gama* ("*Descripcion Histórica y Cronológica de las dos Piedras que con ocasion del Nuevo Empedrado que se está formando en la Plaza principal de Mexico, se hallaron en ella el Año de 1790*," Segunda Edicion; 1832, Parte Segunda, pp. 80 and 81), as late as 1733 or 1734, when it was destroyed ("picada") by order of the authorities. Another figure, intended for